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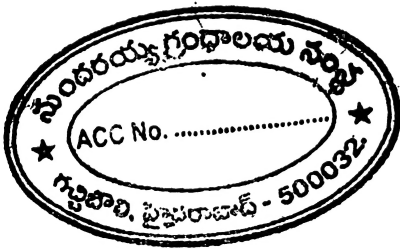
**SOVIET
FOREIGN
POLICY**

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV'S REPORT
to Third Session of USSR Supreme Soviet
on October 31, 1959**

SOVIET LAND BOOKLETS
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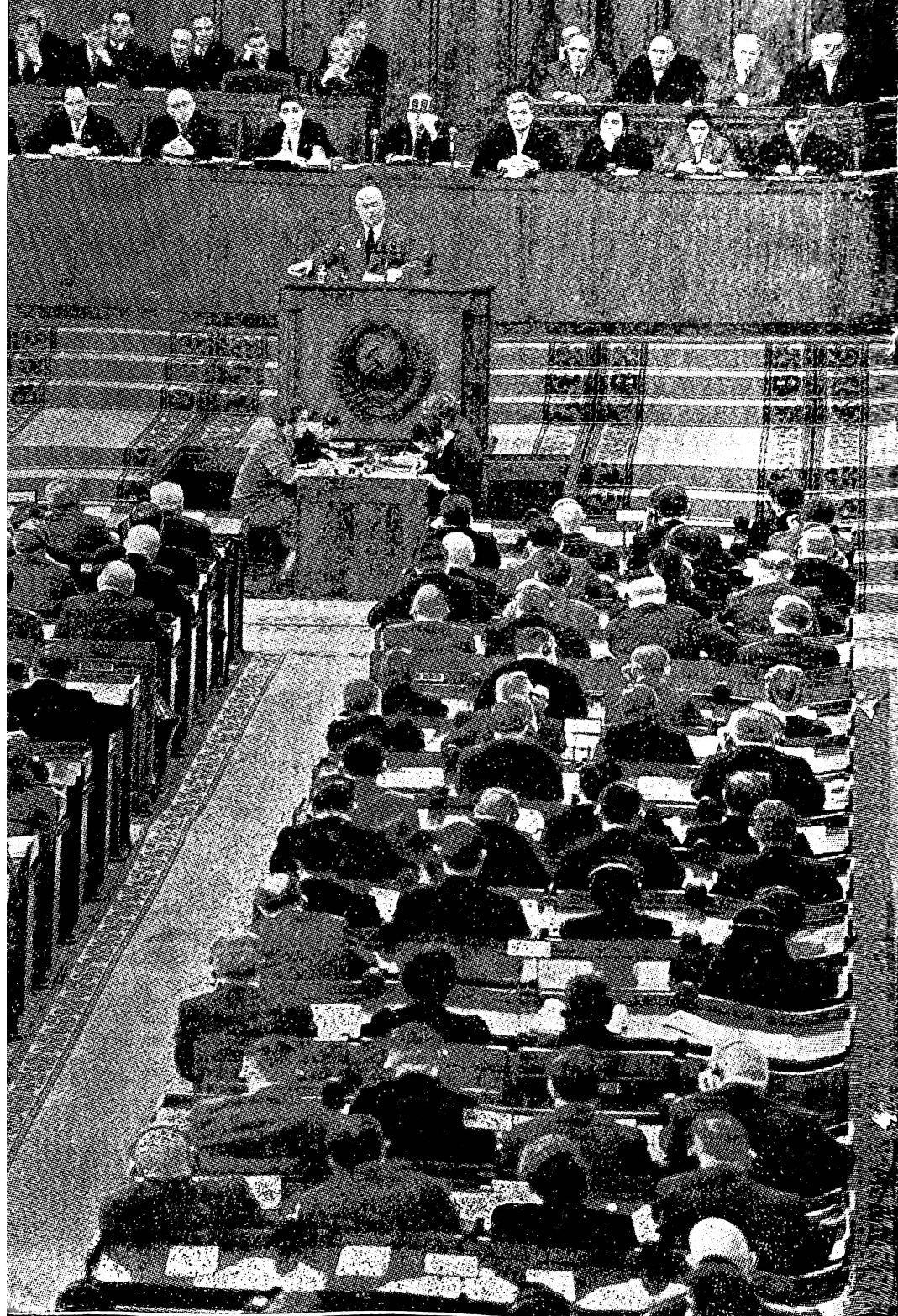
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report to the Third Session of
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**N. S. KHRUSHCHOV'S REPORT
to Third Session of USSR Supreme Soviet
on October 31, 1959**

Comrades Deputies,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the USSR Council of Ministers have asked me to report to you on the international situation and Soviet foreign policy.

Guided by the Leninist policy of peace, the decisions of the 20th and 21st Party Congresses, and the directives of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Government of the Soviet Union is working consistently and perseveringly to ease international tension, end the cold war and improve international relations so as to ensure stronger peace and the security of the peoples.

We may note with satisfaction that thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all the peace forces the international situation has improved noticeably of late. The chief thing is that the tension in relations between states has lessened considerably, while prospects of stronger world peace are more favourable. It is a fact that but a short while ago the passions engendered by the cold war were so hot that even a tiny spark could have set off a world-wide conflagration. Some Western powers based their foreign policies then on frankly aggressive calculations, on the "positions of strength" policy. The inspirers of these policies were out to foist their will upon the peaceloving peoples and settle international problems by means of the big stick.

Sometimes this approach to international affairs was dubbed the "policy of liberation," sometimes the "roll-back policy," or the "policy of ousting". But this did not change its substance. For the

desire to "liberate" from some thing others who do not ask for this "liberation" and do not want it means one is out to impose one's orders on others by force. No people have asked the capitalist gentry yet—and never will they ever ask them—to "liberate" them from the socialist system, whose advantages and boons they have already tasted, and to bring them back to the system of capitalist exploitation.

No people that have rid themselves of capitalist exploitation has ever yet expressed the desire to be "liberated" from their factories and mills, from their right to dispose of all the riches of their state as they think fit, from the right to arrange their life as they wish. No free people have ever yet wished their life to be bossed by a handful of those who rob them and expropriate the fruit of their labour. However, this is, evidently, something the men, who in several countries still wax fat by exploiting the people, are loath to understand.

When these men spoke of "ousting" or "rolling back", they had no intentions at all of kindly requesting someone to move up or resign his place. What they meant was outright armed intervention in the affairs of the socialist states and other peaceloving countries. Hence the policy of an unceasing arms race, the illusions of "nuclear superiority", and so on. This was expressed also in the vocabulary the protagonists of this policy used. They talked of "brinkmanship" of "massed retaliation" and the like. They even went to the length of directly threatening the Soviet Union and the other socialist states with a "preventive" war.

Now the times have changed. Even some of the energetic priests of the "positions of strength" policy have come to see that this policy is devoid of prospect. It is only the most warlikeminded in the West who cannot give up the old formulas. One can still hear echoes of the old in some places. Take, for instance, the sadly notorious decision of the US Congress to conduct a so-called "Communist-enslaved nations" week and pray for their liberation. We don't have the word "rolling back" used here but the substance remains the same. It is the selfsame call for interference in the affairs of others.

As you see, matters have now gone from the "roll-back" policy to the saying of prayers to God. But what good can this do? If Western leaders pray God to "liberate" the socialist nations and we, in our turn, pray him to liberate their peoples from capitalist rule

we shall thereby put God on the horns of a dilemma. (*Animation*). In whose favour should he decide? It is quite plain that if he sides with the majority and takes a democratic view of things, he will decide in our favour, in favour of socialism! (*Animation, applause*.) This, however, is a digression, so to speak, from the substance of my report.

Currently, a more sober evaluation of the situation, a saner understanding of the world correlation of forces, is beginning to gain the upper hand in the West. This surely infers that reckonings of being able to use armed forces against the socialist world must be consigned to the archives. Life itself demands that states with different social systems learn how to live together, to coexist peacefully, on our planet.

What are the main reasons for the recent changes in international developments?

The main reason lies in the growing might and international prestige of the Soviet Union and all the nations of the world socialist system. Mankind is fortunate in that in our epoch of great scientific discoveries and technical accomplishments, a socialist system has come into being in the world and is rapidly developing, because socialism organically seeks peace. The faster the forces of the socialist countries grow, the greater the chance of preserving and consolidating peace.

Furthermore, countries rid of the chains of colonial dependence and also countries vitally interested in having peace maintained and new wars prevented, have come to play an increasing role in international affairs. In our times one cannot but count with the voice of these countries, which are situated in all the continents.

Then, the peace forces advocating the abolition of the cold war and peaceful international cooperation have come of late to exert increasing influence in the capitalist countries themselves.

Finally, broader and broader circles, including many capitalist statesmen, are coming to realise that a war today involving the use of nuclear weapons and missiles, holds out unseen loss of human life and destruction, in the first place to countries daring to let loose another world war.

Peaceful Coexistence : Life's Imperious Demand

By their policy of peace the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have opened up to mankind a road of social progress via peaceful cooperation, without war.

Today the peoples of the world are coming to understand more and more clearly the pre-eminent significance of the great Lenin's wise idea of peaceful coexistence.

Taking account of the present balance of world forces and the present standard of military technique, already nobody can suggest any other way of development in relations between states with different social systems, except that of peaceful coexistence, without losing his sense of reality.

We often have occasion to hear personalities in the West argue as to whether they should "accept" or "not accept" the Soviet offer of peaceful coexistence. I think this shows their failure to understand the essence of the matter. The point is that peaceful coexistence today is a hard fact ; it is not someone's request or desire. It is an objective necessity, stemming from the obtaining world situation from the present stage of development in human society. The two main social systems now existing on our planet have weapons capable of producing disastrous consequences if used. Anyone declaring today that he does not recognise peaceful coexistence or objecting to it actually stands for war.

The question now is not whether we should have peaceful coexistence or not. We have it and we shall have it if we are set against the madness of a world nuclear-missile war. The point is to coexist sensibly. Hardly is it sensible that states exist in circumstances where while there is no war, guns and missiles are always ready and military aircraft, with A-and H-bombs on board, endlessly ply the heavens. It is a fact, though, that these aircrafts not only fly but also as the result of various disasters, fall now and again to the ground together with their deadly load. This has taken place in the USA more than once. The very fact that such things happen already shows how dangerous the stockpiling of these weapons and the playing with them is.

The Soviet Government, all the Soviet people, proceed from the Leninist tenet of the coexistence of states with different social systems and are doing all they can to ensure lasting world peace

We do not want people to think when they go to bed that this might be their last peaceful night, that a war catastrophe might break out at any moment. We want sane peaceful coexistence. We want organs of state and public organisations to work in this direction. We want the conditions created for cooperation among nations. This cooperation should be based on principles, according to which each country picks for itself and borrows of its neighbour what it considers necessary, and without any pressure. Only then will coexistence be really peaceful and good-neighbourly.

This coexistence of states with different social systems naturally calls for mutual concessions in the interests of peace. One can say that what one requires here is a realistic approach, a sober estimation of the actual state of affairs, and reciprocal understanding and consideration of each other's interests. This is both a fundamental and flexible position in the effort to preserve peace.

Recognition of the fact that different systems exist, the recognition of every people's right to decide all their political and social questions by themselves, respect for sovereignty, observance of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and the settlement of all international issues through negotiation are what sensible coexistence means.

The principles of peaceful coexistence were well formulated at the Bandung Conference. Later, they were approved also by the United Nations. To put it bluntly, for peaceful coexistence the states must, in the interests of peace, meet each other half way.

The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems itself presupposes the elements of mutual concessions and reciprocal consideration for one another's interests, because otherwise we cannot have normal relations between states.

As concerns ideological matters, we have always stood rock-firm on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and will continue to do so. Ideological questions cannot be decided by force. The ruling ideology of one state cannot be imposed upon another state. No sober thinking person has ever thought that ideological disputes or questions of the state order in one or another country should be decided by war.

The capitalists do not approve of the socialist social order. Our ideology, our world outlook, is alien to them. Similarly do we,

the citizens of the socialist states, disapprove of the capitalist way of things and of bourgeois ideology. But we must live in peace, solving all international issues that crop up only by peaceful means. Hence the necessity for mutual concessions.

Neither side, of course, will concede on the fundamental social and ideological points that divide them. We mean concessions of another kind. Thus, representatives of capitalist countries come here and speak their own mind here. We do not agree with them always or on all points, but we tolerate such things. When in the capitalist states we also speak there and candidly state our views. There this is also tolerated evidently.

The principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems implies no interference in each other's internal affairs, the need for mutual concessions and compromise or, if you please, an effort on both sides to adapt themselves in international relations when deciding matured practical issues, in order to preserve and consolidate peace. Lenin taught that the working class, both before and after power is won, must be able to pursue a flexible policy, to compromise and agree when life and the interests at stake demand it.

What does this mean in its application to the conditions of today? Take the disarmament problem, for instance. The Soviet Government has proposed complete and general disarmament. We maintain that the realisation of this proposal will guarantee peace to all the peoples. But we are prepared to consider other proposals in order to attain a mutually acceptable settlement in the disarmament problem. This is a concrete instance showing our readiness to make concessions when there is yet no opportunity of solving the problem in its entirety or in other words, of solving it as we think best.

On the other hand, the capitalist states also make some definite concessions. You all know, for example, that they recognised our Soviet state and later most of the other socialist countries, though the capitalist rulers are against socialism. They have diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, negotiate with them, jointly participate in the United Nations and discuss together world problems there. These, of course, are also concessions, or an effort, if you wish, on the part of the capitalist states to adapt themselves, as they are forced to count with the hard fact that the countries of the world socialist system exist and are developing.

When we say the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states we mean that neither of the two interfere in each other's internal affairs. Peaceful coexistence is possible only on that sensible basis.

In the practical present-day relations between states with different social systems we encounter and shall encounter quite a number of matters on which we shall have to meet each other halfway and seek mutually acceptable agreements so as to prevent tension and employ every, even the smallest, opportunity to avert another war.

However, one cannot confuse mutual concessions in the interests of peaceful coexistence with concessions on points of principle, on matters that concern the very nature of our socialist order and our ideology. Here all concessions and any kind of an effort to adapt oneself are out of the question. To concede on points of principle, on ideological matters, means to slither onto the positions of our opponents. This would signify a qualitative change in policy, a betrayal of the working class cause. Anyone doing that betrays the socialist cause and must, naturally, be most ruthlessly criticised.

We rest confident in the power of our truth. And we bear high and demonstrate to the entire world this socialist truth, the advantages of socialism. We have no reason to fear that the socialist nations will succumb to the temptations of capitalist Satan and give up socialism. To think otherwise means to have no faith in the power of socialism, in the power and creative ability of the working class.

There are many instances in the history of Soviet state showing the wise and flexible foreign policy Lenin pursued to solve paramount problems of peace. Thus, there was the time of the Brest Peace. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin set the task of concluding peace with Germany so as to guarantee the young Soviet state the possibility of building socialism in peace. Lenin and the Party had to perseveringly resist Trotsky who came out then with Leftist objections and the notorious slogan "neither peace nor war." He thereby played into the hands of German imperialists. You will remember Trotsky's adventuristic policy was taken advantage of by German imperialism against Soviet Russia. The young socialist state had to overcome difficulties of no mean magnitude. Such was the fruit of an adventuristic policy.

Today the situation is quite different, of course. We have taken this historical example to show Lenin's adherence to principles in foreign policy and his flexibility in pursuing it.

Some bourgeois personalities who remonstrate against peaceful coexistence try to accuse the socialist countries and, firstly, the Soviet Union, of being not sincere when talking of peaceful coexistence. They allege that we advocate peaceful coexistence only as a temporary tactic, because Marxism-Leninism supposedly maintains, in fact, that war is necessary for socialism to win.

Such allegations, however, are nothing but a distortion of the substance of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism has always struggled implacably against militarism; it has never thought a war between states necessary for the working class to win. The Russian Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, waged a most relentless and consistent struggle against predatory wars. Recall also such prominent working class leaders as August Bebel, Jean Jaures and Karl Liebknecht, who vigorously fought militarism and war. Jaures paid with his life for his tireless campaign against the imperialist war of 1914. We, Communists, know that it is the working class, the working peasantry, all the working folk, who pay with their blood for war, while the capitalists wax rich on it. But at the same time the Communists said : since the contradictions of capitalism have resulted in a brigand war for re-division of the world, the working class, the working people, must not remain passive. The first world war was an imperialist war for the re-division of the world. The working class, Leninism teaches, had to use this war in its own interests, turn the imperialist war into a civil war, take power into its own hands and build up a state, where the working class, the working people would be master, then stop the war and work to make wars of conquest impossible in general.

The whole world knows how brilliantly the Bolshevik Party applied these Leninist principles in practice during the first world war. It was precisely the Bolsheviks who on the very next day after Soviet power was established called on all the belligerents to stop the war and conclude peace. The second world war was also let loose by imperialist states to seize the territory of others and re-divide the world. The world has greatly changed since Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan were smashed. Many countries of Europe

and Asia have broken away from the capitalist system and established a people's democracy, a socialist system.

So the lessons of history show that it is the imperialists, not the Communists, who unleashed wars.

When we talk of peaceful coexistence we are sincere because peaceful coexistence is the bedrock foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. As for the social order in one or another country, that is the domestic concern of its people. We strictly abide by the principle of non-interference in the home affairs of other states.

The policy of achieving the peaceful coexistence of states, which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries invariably pursued, is now gaining increasing recognition in the West. Such forms of East-West relations as negotiations on matured international issues, exchange visits of statesmen, mutually advantageous economic ties and cultural and scientific contacts—forms of the relations which the Soviet Government has long been pressing for—are now making headway.

And if all see today that a thaw is setting in in international relations this, of course, is largely due to the effort of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the last 18 months alone, that is ever since the Council of Ministers of the USSR has been functioning in its present composition, the Soviet Government has put forward such important proposals as the proposals to stop nuclear weapons tests, establish atom-free zones, abolish the aftermath of the past war by concluding a German peace treaty, call a heads-of-government meeting to discuss the most urgent international issues and effect complete and general disarmament.

The Soviet Government's efforts have already borne some good fruit. Thus an agreement to cease nuclear weapons tests is being negotiated. True, these negotiations have dragged out, but, still, certain progress has been made and it is to be hoped that they will soon draw to a successful close. The Foreign Ministers, you will remember, met at Geneva to discuss the problem of abolishing the aftermath of the World War II. Though this conference did not result in any solution of the questions discussed, still it did help to clarify and bring closer together the positions of the Parties and was of positive significance generally.

The Soviet Government has made several moves to improve relations with the leading Western powers, with the USA, Britain and France. The visits this year of comrades A. I. Mikoyan and F. R. Kozlov to the United States, the later visit of US Vice President R. Nixon to the Soviet Union, and the reciprocal arrangement of a Soviet Exhibition in New York and American Exhibition in Moscow all helped to improve Soviet-American relations. The cold war ice has begun to crack.

The exchange of views we had with Prime Minister H. Macmillan of Britain when he was in the USSR played an appreciable role both in improving Anglo-Soviet relations and in ameliorating the international situation in general.

An especially important, far-reaching move towards a fundamental improvement in relations between the USSR and the USA, and towards a general relaxation of international tension was the understanding reached by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the US President to exchange visits.

During my visit to the United States I had meetings and talks with President Dwight Eisenhower and also with other statesmen as well as with representatives of the widest range of circles and the plain people of America. These meetings and conversations gave me the conviction that the overwhelming majority of Americans do not want war and wish relations between our two countries to improve. Many prominent people in the USA, with the President at their head, understand this mood of the American public. They are worried about the situation produced by the arms race and the cold war and are desirous of finding ways and means of strengthening peace.

On our part we tried to bring home to both the representatives of different US circles, whom we had the occasion to meet in person, and to the American people in general, that the Government of the Soviet Union and all the Soviet people sincerely want peace and seek to improve relations between the USSR and the United States. It seems to me that we have managed to do that to some extent and that now the position of the Soviet Union is understood better in the United States.

You know that during my meetings with President Eisenhower we exchanged opinions on several major international questions, as for instance, general disarmament, the German peace treaty,

Berlin, and other matters, and also the development of Soviet-American relations. The results of this exchange of views were expressed in the joint Soviet-American communique. I would merely like to add that our talks were very useful and facilitated, as we think, a definite understanding and an approximation of views in the evaluation of the obtaining situation in general, in the approach to some concrete matters of major importance, and in the awareness of the need to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. This was an essential contribution to the consolidation of universal peace and we prize it very highly.

Not so long ago we reached an understanding, as you all know, for me to meet General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic. We believe this meeting will be useful for the development of relations between the USSR and France and for the consolidation of universal peace.

On the whole our relations with France are developing normally, though its membership in military blocs directed against us leaves a certain imprint on its policy.

Objectively speaking, the interests of our states do not clash on any point and we cannot, of course, think, that our being allies in both world wars was merely a matter of chance. Of course, our different understanding of the obtaining situation tells on the position our two countries take on some matters. But we think these differences can quite be removed, as they are not fundamental ones. The Soviet people would like to live in peace and friendship with the French people and they wish France prosperity and grandeur. Looking ahead, I fail to see any bumps or obstacles that could interfere seriously with good and friendly relations between our country and the French Republic.

I would like to say from this lofty rostrum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that we greatly appreciate the realistic pronouncements of President de Gaulle and Premier Debre about the stability of the Oder-Neisse frontier. This unquestionably facilitates the consolidation of peace in Europe.

The Soviet people, like all the peaceloving peoples of the world, are naturally perturbed by the war that has been going on in Algeria for five years now. President de Gaulle's recent proposals to solve the Algerian question on the basis of self-determination through a

nation-wide referendum in Algeria may be important for settling this problem. They will be important as long as they do not remain on paper, but are backed up by concrete moves which, while taking into consideration the rights of the Algerian population to free and independent development, will also guarantee the concerting of mutual interests.

France and Algeria have close ties historically. Naturally, if further on these ties are based on a new mutually acceptable foundation, with the principles of voluntary participation and equality really observed, this may help to establish peace in this part of the world. The past has shown that attempts to solve questions of this kind by force, in defiance of the will of the peoples, are utterly devoid of prospect. We shall be happy if an understanding of this with regard to the Algerian question gains the upper hand in France. The Soviet Union has never attempted to hide, nor does it now attempt to hide, the fact that its sympathies are with peoples fighting colonialism for their independence and national liberation. One can easily see that a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question will help to enhance France's international prestige and her role as a great power.

A Settlement of outstanding issues—The road to a further improvement in the International Situation

Comrades deputies ! We have succeeded in achieving a certain improvement in the international atmosphere as a whole and in paving the way to negotiations on concrete measures for clearing away the obstructions piled up by the cold war in the relations between states. We are now entering upon the stage of these negotiations.

All this, of course, does not mean that the difficulties have already been eliminated in international relations, or, at least only in the relations between the USSR and the USA. It is, of course, impossible to do away with the accumulations of many years at one blow. Such miracles do not occur. A great deal still remains to be done in order to thaw the ice of the cold war properly and to bring about a considerable improvement in the relations between states.

However, the hands of the international weather-glass are obviously moving, although not so quickly as we would like them to, in the direction from "storm" and "foul" to "fine".

Only it should not be forgotten that contrary to the natural change of the seasons of the year, the international weather does not change by itself. In order to achieve fine and settled weather in the relations between states, systematic, active peaceloving actions are required on the part of all governments, and, chiefly, on the part of the peoples who must induce their governments to work for peace. The peoples are vitally interested in easing international tension, in consolidating peace on earth, and, therefore, it is necessary that they should be well aware of how the international situation is shaping, in order to bring influence to bear upon their governments with the aim of pursuing a peaceloving policy.

What does that actually mean ? It means, first of all, to settle finally the questions of disarmament, to stop the arms race. If we want to ensure a stable peace we must no longer leave the knots in international relations which are a legacy of the second world war and the period of the cold war that followed it. Such knots must be disentangled and untied.

Here we must bear in mind the necessity of settling a long outstanding problem—the conclusion of the German peace treaty. The serious differences on the German question existing among the former allies of the anti-Hitler coalition, the rebirth of militarism and revanchist trends in Western Germany, the strained relations between the two German states—all this makes the situation in Europe unstable and fraught with dangerous consequences. All these problems would be settled to a considerable extent by the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two really existing German states, and, thus, the question of Berlin would also be settled.

The position of the Soviet government on the German problem has been outlined repeatedly and there is no need for me to speak in detail about it. I also outlined our position during my talks with President Eisenhower, moreover, as is known, an agreement was reached on the desirability of resuming negotiations on the German problem.

One cannot but say that the situation in Europe as a whole still causes no little anxiety. In that area there are concentrated big armed forces of both sides, which are in direct contact with each other. Numerous foreign naval and air military bases are situated in Western Europe ; besides, at present rocket-nuclear

bases are being set up there. In spite of the protests of the world public, contrary to the interests of safeguarding peace, the West-German army is being equipped with the nuclear and rocket weapons. Therefore, the danger of a fresh military explosion must not be forgotten for a minute.

We have come out more than once with proposals on how to reduce the tension in Europe, how to ensure security for all the peoples living in that area. We are prepared to take far-reaching steps in that direction, and also for any sensible partial measures. We only want progress to be made, the situation in Europe to improve, the European knot no longer to remain tangled and drawn tight.

The Near and Middle East continues to remain one of the restless areas on the globe, where the situation is fraught with all sorts of complications. It is true that at present there is no direct military intervention on the part of the imperialist countries in the internal affairs of the countries of that area, as was the case in the recent past, but the situation is still far from normal.

It must be said frankly that the situation there is not being improved because of the fact that the territory of some countries still continues, and partly to a still greater extent, to be utilised by foreign powers as a base for military preparations against third countries.

I have had more than once the occasion to speak of the harm which is being done to the interests of strengthening universal peace by the member countries of the aggressive blocs in permitting their territories to be used for the establishment of foreign military bases. I would like to return to this question once more today.

Indeed, can there be any talk of furthering peace on the part of a country which has made it almost the chief principle of its policy to grant its national territory for the establishment of foreign rocket-nuclear bases directed against the Soviet Union. Such a country as Turkey, which is our neighbour in the south, belongs to both NATO and CENTO and has probably not yet joined SEATO only on account of the long distance. However, if she is promised so-called aid the long distance either will not stop her. It is true that to promise "aid" does not yet mean granting it. I think that were the ruling circles of Turkey only to be promised a certain sum they would undoubtedly gladly join both SEATO and any other "ATO".

(Laughter.)

What, however, is the chief result of Turkey's participation in the military blocs ? Turkish territory has been turned into a true military springboard, on which foreign rockets with nuclear warhead will now also be located. There is hardly any need to say that this undermines the security of Turkey herself, in the first place.

We have spoken time and again of the danger of such a foreign policy on the part of Turkey and have advanced definite proposals in the interests of establishing good neighbourly relations between our countries. We sincerely want our relations to be built up in the spirit of friendship and cooperation which marked the relatively recent past when Turkish policy was determined by such an outstanding statesman as Kemal Ataturk.

As for our relations with another southern neighbour—Iran—they leave much to be desired. In recent years, the Soviet government has implemented a number of important measures directed towards the establishment of good and friendly relations with Iran. But the leaders of Iran, contrary to the national interests of their country, preferred to bind themselves by military obligations, both within the framework of the military CENTO bloc and without it, directed against the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, with regard to the name of this bloc which was formerly called the Baghdad Pact. In view of the sad lessons held by the recent past for the aggressive forces, this bloc is now called the Central Treaty Organisation, and in abbreviated form CENTO. This is very significant. There is a good proverb which says that if you scald your mouth with milk, you will blow on water, too. The Baghdad Pact has collapsed. Now its inspirers no longer dared to name their pact that of Ankara or Teheran, but have invented an impersonal title CENTO.

Well, one can understand them! Now they have a great certainty that at least the title will remain.

It must clearly be stated that such a policy does not answer to the interests of strengthening peace and improving Soviet-Iranian relations. The trend of Iranian policy in the future will have to be judged by the concrete deeds of those who determine the policy of that country.

Yet, both Turkey and Iran possess all objective potentials for making their contribution to the cause of relaxation of tension in this

area of the globe, and improving relations with neighbouring peaceloving countries.

In our days the international public is seriously concerned by the question of the attitude of the United States and certain other Western powers towards the People's Republic of China. People's China is a great country with a population of 650 million and it undoubtedly plays an important role in international life, but the ruling circles of the Western countries would like to turn China into a second-rate power. In the West attempts are still being made to uphold the thought that not one, but two Chinas allegedly exist. But every schoolboy knows that there is only one China and that the capital of the People's Republic of China is Peking. No one has ever heard of a China known as Taiwan, and Taipeh has never been and never will be the capital of China.

Besides, as a result of the position taken up by the United States and its allies, the rights of the People's Republic of China in the UNO have not yet been restored, although this is contrary to common sense. China fought on the side of the allies against Japan. It is one of the founders of the UNO and one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Now, however, its place in the UNO is being occupied by imposters who, as a result of the triumph of the great revolution in China, have been deprived by the will of the Chinese people of the right of representing China. These people have no more right to speak on behalf of China than the Chinese people than, for instance, has Kerensky, who is ending his day in emigration, to speak on behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government.

It is known that ten years ago, as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution, the old corrupt regime in China was overthrown and the government of Chiang Kai-shek was thrown out. The People's Republic of China was established. The government of the People's Republic of China enjoys such prestige and confidence in the country as was never enjoyed by any government throughout the whole of the many-century-long history of China. The Soviet Union has the most friendly relations with the People's Republic of China and its government. At present when the People's Republic of China has already entered upon the second ten years of its existence, after the most important political and social economic transformations have been effected in it, and outstanding successes have been achieved

in the development of the economy and culture, those who uphold the reckless position of "two Chinas" look particularly ridiculous.

In spite of the obvious facts and the course of historical development, the United States continues to cling to the remnants of the overthrown Chiang Kai-shek regime, it has helped the Chiang- Kai-shekites to dig themselves in on Taiwan and protects them with the power of its arms. By this attempts are made to prevent the completion of the process of revolutionary liberation in the country, and the extension to Taiwan and other Chinese lands, the state system now existing over the whole of the remaining territory of China.

Intervention in the internal affairs of China, attempts "to correct" geography and to form an artificial situation of "two Chinas" are contradictory to the aspirations of the peoples for the abolition of the cold war, and create a tense situation in the Far East.

In the talks which took place during my stay in the United States, the subject of China was also touched upon. I expressed at that time the point of view of the Soviet government on the so-called Taiwan question and on the question of the restoration of China's right in the UNO. However, soon after that, the Secretary of State Mr. Herter, and his assistant Mr. Dillon in their speeches launched something like a psychological attack against the Soviet Union, attempting deliberately to distort the nature of the relations between the USSR and China, to cast doubt upon the sovereignty of the Peoples Republic of China in deciding its own problems of home and foreign policy.

I do not know what it is called in American, but in Russian such attempts may be called horse logic. (*Laughter*). As a matter of fact, to whom is it not clear that People's China is a great sovereign state, that its government pursues an independent home and foreign policy. And quite justly the Americans themselves ridicule the views expressed by the representatives of the State Department. The well-known American publicist Walter Lippmann, for instance, correctly emphasised that such statements can only do harm to the cause of improving international cooperation, and that it does not befit US statesmen to make official public comments concerning the relations of the Soviet Union with the People's Republic of China. Messrs.

Herter and Dillon should have known that methods of this sort could not lead to any results, when it was a question of the Soviet Union and People's China.

As far as the essence of the question is concerned, it may be recalled that after the defeat of Japan the island of Taiwan (the Americans prefer to call it Formosa) was returned to China. China's rights to Taiwan were recorded in the Cairo Declaration, which was signed by the late U.S. President Roosevelt, and in the Potsdam Declaration, which bears the signature of ex-President Truman, and also in the Deed of Surrender of Japan. The U.S. government recognised, in its time, that Taiwan had been returned to China and that the problem was, therefore, finally settled. In 1950, Mr. Truman, then president, declared that Taiwan had been returned to China and that the United States and the other allied powers were agreed that the Chinese government should exercise its power over that island.

Thus, the so-called Taiwan question is a question of the relations of Chinese with Chinese, a purely internal affair of China. No international complications would have arisen but for the intervention in the internal affairs of China, but for the situation artificially created on Taiwan as a result of the military support and protection of the remnants of the Chiang-Kai-shek regime by the United States of America.

We are certain that Taiwan and other islands will be rejoined to the remainder of China. Any threats or hints at threats in this matter are quite useless. It must be borne in mind that even a small country is often not to be stopped by threats when it strives to implement its national aspirations. Threats are all the more useless when it is a question of such a great country as the People's Republic of China.

Those who speak of the responsibility of the USSR for the actions of China should know that the People's Republic of China does not need anybody's patronage. The People's Government pursues its own policy and befittingly represents its people, the People's Republic of China.

If we are to speak of the Soviet Union as an ally of the People's Republic of China, then we agree to bear this responsibility. To the Soviet Union the wish of the Chinese people and the government of

the People's Republic of China to return within the framework of the Chinese state Taiwan and the other islands belonging to China, but occupied by foreign troops, is near and understandable. On this question we wholly support and will support the government of the People's Republic of China until it shall have achieved a settlement of this question, as the legal and moral rights are on its side. (*Prolonged applause*).

Among other problems in the Far East the question of Korea deserves attention. This country has been split into two parts. The present situation on the Korean Peninsula is such that a military conflict can hardly break out there at present. True, the aged Syng Man Rhee is attempting to fan war psychosis, but the Korean People's Democratic Republic takes his threats calmly and is confidently building socialism. Both the economic and political situation in the Korean People's Democratic Republic are now good, the country is successfully healing the wounds inflicted by the war, and is growing stronger from day to day.

The situation is quite different in South Korea. The economy, in particular agriculture, continues to regress there. South Korea is ruined and even Syng Man Rhee cannot fail to take into account that his subjects are by no means eager to begin war against their brothers in North Korea. Besides, Syng Man Rhee apparently understands that if he launches a war against the Korean People's Democratic Republic, it may swiftly turn into a big war. And he knows very well that not only South Korea has allies, but that the Korean People's Democratic Republic also has them. (*Applause*).

If we are to speak of the main force which determines the policy of South Korea, then we form the opinion that the United States of America is not seeking a military conflict there. At present, in that corner of the globe also, the correlation of forces has not shaped in favour of those who would like to solve ideological problems by war or by any other non-peaceful means.

Thus, favourable conditions are being created for preparing a final settlement of the Korean question step by step. This has to be begun with the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. We are certain that should there be no foreign troops in Korea, should there be no intervention in her affairs from without, then the Koreans themselves will sooner come to an agreement on a gradual rapprochement between the north and the south, which in its

turn would create the pre-requisites for the restoration of the national unity of Korea on a peaceful democratic basis.

The question of the situation in Laos has acquired an unpleasant after-taste of late. How did this question arise ? Certain circles known to all, who think more about the expansion of the aggressive SEATO bloc than about the strengthening of peace in South-East Asia, at first brought about the termination of the work of the International Commission on Laos, established by decision of the Geneva Conference of 1954. Following this, the same circles began to complicate the situation in Laos itself, where in direct violation of the Geneva agreements, persecution of the former Patet-Lao forces began. Weapons went into play. Although military operations in Laos are being waged on the scale of platoon against platoon, a much greater hue and cry than necessary was raised all over the world.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are opposed to the existence in Laos of even a small hot bed of war which might supply food for the aggressive forces. The clashes which are taking place there can be liquidated given a sensible approach and adherence to international agreements, and the situation can be brought back to normal. The chief thing, however, is for the Great Powers not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, otherwise undesirable consequences may result.

We keenly regret the incidents which have lately taken place on the borders of two countries, with which we are friends—the People's Republic of China, with which we are linked by inviolable ties of brotherly friendship, and the Republic of India, with which we are successfully developing friendly relations. We are particularly distressed by the fact that as a result of these incidents both sides suffered human losses. Nothing can compensate the parents and relatives of the fallen for these losses. We would be glad if incidents on the Chinese-Indian frontier were not to be repeated, if the existing disputed border questions were to be settled by friendly negotiations to the mutual satisfaction of both sides.

I think that there is no need to speak of the Soviet Union's relations with all countries. I have only mentioned the main questions, the points which to a certain extent cause anxiety for the present international situation. In other countries and points on the globe no special changes have taken place recently.

We can only say that we have all grounds to be satisfied with the relations which have arisen between us and the majority of countries, in particular those, with which the Soviet Union's friendly relations are expanding and growing stronger. But also with those countries, with which we have not yet reached the necessary understanding, we would like to improve relations, to bring about full understanding which would grow into friendship.

The relaxation reached in international tension has led to a further expansion of the volume of our connections with the countries both of the East and the West. We must firmly pursue our Leninist peace policy, and we shall pursue it with unswerving consistency. (*Prolonged applause*).

DISARMAMENT PROBLEM MUST BE SETTLED !

Comrades Deputies !

During my trip to the United States I presented in the name of the Soviet Government, a proposal on general and complete disarmament for the consideration of the United Nations Organization.

As you are aware, this proposal has found a wide and favourable response in all countries of the world.

We, Soviet people, consider the disarmament problem the most important problem of our time. It depends on the solution of this problem whether mankind will be moving towards peace, or war. It seems that there are no two opinions on this score today.

Never before in the history of mankind have the people been compelled to invest such a vast share of their labour in the production of the means of destruction. The arms drive has become universal. Armies are growing, the so-called conventional armaments are being increased and improved, the stock of nuclear bombs and rocket weapons are being steadily piled. The "*New York Herald Tribune*" has reported that about 250 nuclear test explosions have been made from July 1945 until the end of last year, their total power approximating 100 million tons of trinitrotoluol. The power of these explosions is many times greater than the combined power of

the explosions of all the bomb mines and shells made during the First and Second World Wars. And yet, the nuclear test bombs exploded hitherto represent a very small fraction of the stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen weapons. That is where mankind has been led to by the arms drive!

Only a short time ago big distances, oceans, let us say, were natural obstacles to the spread of war from one continent to another. The First and Second World Wars laid waste mainly to Europe. Some states were still able to keep safe behind ocean expanses or in outlying regions. They succeeded not only in evading destruction and other calamities of war, but even in making huge capital on the war.

The situation is different today. Within a few minutes nuclear weapons, the most devastating means of destruction, can be carried to any point of the globe. A new war would not spare anyone, and it would bring upon mankind unprecedented sacrifices, destruction and suffering. There would be no distinction between the rear and front, between the soldiers and civilians.

General and complete disarmament is necessary in order to block the road to war. It is to this end that the Soviet Government has laid before the United Nations Organisation the proposals known to you.

What is the essence of the proposed Soviet program? We propose to carry through in the shortest space of time, in about four years, general and complete disarmament of states. This means that all armed forces would be disbanded, all armaments would be destroyed and military production stopped. Nuclear, chemical bacteriological and rocket weapons would be prohibited completely and for all times and destroyed. War ministries and general staffs would be abolished; military bases on foreign territories would be liquidated; no one would receive any military training and no expenditures on military purposes would be made in any form.

Only small contingents of police, or militia equipped only with light firearms would be left at the disposal of states in agreed numbers for protecting internal order and the safety of citizens.

In order that no one should be able to break the agreement on complete disarmament we propose to establish strict, effective and all-embracing international control.

General and complete disarmament would initiate a new stage in the development of the human society, a world without wars.

General and complete disarmament would presuppose also a vast advancement in the welfare of all the peoples. Abolition of military expenditures would release colossal material resources for expanding civilian branches of economy in all countries, big and small. It would then be possible to use considerable means for advancing economy and the living standards of the population in the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It would be possible to build in these countries many factories, electric power stations, irrigation systems, houses, schools, and hospitals. Scientists of all the countries would have much greater possibilities to work for peace, for the good of the peoples, for expanding scientific investigations in the most diverse fields, in engineering, medicine, in the exploration of outer space, etc. They would be able to combine their efforts for carrying out many magnificent plans of a scientific nature.

If we were to try and sum up at least some preliminary results of the reaction of world public opinion to the Soviet proposals for disarmament, it could be said that our proposals have produced a stir among the widest sections of the population in all countries of the world. The Soviet Government's proposals for disarmament received the approval of the Permanent Committee of the All-China People's Assembly; they received full support in all the socialist countries.

The problem of disarmament is at present not merely a subject of talks among diplomats and of investigations by experts, but the most important question of the social struggle in which the overwhelming majority of mankind takes part.

During my visit to America, we discussed the disarmament problem with President D. Eisenhower. I take pleasure in noting that Mr. Eisenhower thinks it necessary to seek a solution for the disarmament problem. We believe that the reaction of the Prime Minister of Great Britain Mr. Macmillan, of the Prime Minister of India Mr. Nehru, and of the President of Indonesia Mr. Sukarno and others to the Soviet proposals is favourable for the coming talks. It is gratifying to note that in the discussion of our proposals at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, the majority

of the delegates expressed, in one or another form, their favourable attitude towards the idea of general and complete disarmament.

There is great interest in our proposals for disarmament among public, political and business circles of different countries. We welcome, in particular, the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury Geoffrey Fisher and express our gratitude to him for his correct understanding and support of the Soviet proposal for general, complete disarmament. It is especially valuable, coming as it does from the Archbishop, the head of the Anglican Church, who has recognised the humaneness of our proposals from the Christian standpoint. It is to be supposed that his example will be followed by other believers, by ministers of other religions if they really are guided by the teachings of their faith about peace among men, about the impermissibility of wars among nations.

Of course, the favourable reception accorded to our proposals by wide sections of public opinion does not mean at all that there are not or will not be any major obstacles to the coming talks on disarmament. We are realists and we well understand that our proposals for general and complete disarmament are by far not pleasing to all, that there still are in the world devotees of the arms drive and of the 'cold war', that there are influential capitalist monopolies which derive vast profits from the arms race. They would use indiscriminatingly any means in order to interfere with general and complete disarmament, and even now they are not found resting with folded arms. True, the favourable reaction of world public opinion to the Soviet proposals does not allow them to speak up openly against these proposals right now. They are resorting to manoeuvres, distorting the substance of these proposals and spreading fables about them.

Here and there efforts are made in the West to cast doubt on the sincerity of our proposals, but we have seen tricky methods of this kind before.

The Soviet Government has always been in favour of disarmament. Our position from the moment of the birth of the Soviet state, has been that of the struggle against militarism, for disarmament. In the first days of the October Revolution V.I Lenin called for an end to the war. The Soviet Government dissolved the army

and we passed over to the militia system. Later, when we were attacked, we were obliged to form an army for defending our country. These measures were forced upon us, incidentally, by none other than Germany, Britain, France, the USA, and Japan because they moved their troops against our country and rendered armed and material assistance to the enemies of the Revolution. The Soviet people were compelled to arm themselves in order to defend their revolutionary achievements and the independence of their Motherland.

Later, when the League of Nations was founded, the Soviet Government submitted far-reaching proposals for disarmament and destruction of armaments. Those proposals were set forth by the representative of the Soviet Union, Litvinov.

We have now advanced proposals for general and complete disarmament on a new basis, taking into account the new situation and the different correlation of forces obtaining in the world today.

Formerly, some people rejected our proposals claiming that they were an advantage to the Soviet country alone because it was weak at that time. Yes, it is true that the Soviet Union at that time was the only socialist country and it was, no doubt, immeasurably weaker than today. But even at that time when we made our proposals for disarmament we were guided by the humane ideas of the maintenance of peace on earth.

An entirely different correlation of forces exists today. We, together with our allies, defeated a powerful enemy in the second world war. After the war, the Soviet people have successfully restored their national economy, achieved unprecedented progress in economy and culture, science and engineering, and an improvement in the welfare of the broad masses of the working people.

The Soviet Union is, as is generally recognized, a mighty world power. The Soviet Union is no longer alone today. There is the great camp of socialist states. Under these circumstances, no one can allege that our proposals for general and complete disarmament have been dictated by weakness. We have all that is necessary for safeguarding our country against any encroachments from without and for dealing a crushing rebuff to an enemy. (*Prolonged applause*). We are in a position not only to ensure non-interference in our affairs, but also to assist the fraternal socialist countries in defending

their achievements, their freedom and independence. (*Prolonged applause*).

Therefore, when we submit proposals for disarmament today, it is perfectly obvious that they are really dictated by humane purposes, that they are intended to exclude war which in the age of thermonuclear weapons, could bring on terrible calamities. We do not want to use for military purposes the advantages we have, which will grow with the further progress of the socialist countries.

Our entire policy based on the Marxist-Leninist theory, is permeated by concern for man, for the happiness of the peoples. We are, therefore, against war. (*Stormy applause*).

There are spokesmen in the Western countries who do not want to relinquish their old views, asserting that it is necessary to possess strength and to dictate to the weak from positions of strength. They are trying on the quiet to undermine faith in the realistic character of the Soviet proposals. They distort our proposals about control, although in my speech in the United Nations General Assembly as well as in the Declaration of the Soviet Government it was stated clearly that, given general disarmament, we are prepared to accept general control.

It is enough to give careful attention to our proposals to see that the Soviet Government proposes the establishment of strict international control over all the undertakings for disarmament. We propose that a corresponding stage of control be established for every stage of disarmament. We also understand that the controllers will be on the territories of the states from the very beginning of the disarmament process until its completion, and also after disarmament is accomplished, so that no state should conduct any secret preparations for war. We stand for a degree of control which should correspond to the nature of the undertakings for disarmament.

We also agree to establish corresponding organs, apparently under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation, for ensuring effective control in order that all states which would assume sacred obligations for disarmament should firmly abide by them.

In his speech on the occasion of the United Nations' Week Mr. Harriman adopted a sceptical attitude towards the proposals of the Soviet Government. He is evidently labouring under the strong

impression of our proposals. At heart he is probably not accepting them and that is why he has assumed the unseemly role of a worm which tries to canker confidence in the Soviet proposals.

No sooner has the discussion of the disarmament problem begun when the sceptics have pushed to the fore-front the question as to what international forces should be formed as a substitute for the national forces. Reading between the lines we shall perhaps find that they have in mind the formation of international forces to be kept under the influence of the countries which now have a majority in the United Nations Organisation owing to the policy of blocs. It has a very strong resemblance to the policy of knocking together military blocs such as NATO, SEATO, and CENTO. This policy is by no means in the interests of disarmament. We stand for disarmament, but for honest disarmament.

If all the countries are disarmed, if they have no armaments and no armies, then no one will be able to start war. Where then, we may ask, is the need for any above-national armed forces ?

We believe that if complete and general disarmament is carried into effect, then it will be possible to find means of moral influence, to employ various measures and sanctions by decision of the United Nations Organisation with respect to one or another country which will risk to start a conflict.

Those who advocate the formation of international armed forces are after one aim: to keep the countries from accepting our proposal for disarmament. While recognising in words the idea of disarmament, they want in essence to preserve the old situation, i.e., to live on top of a gun-powder cellar, to live in fear of the use of nuclear weapons.

It is to be hoped that common sense will triumph. Reasonable decisions which will enable peoples to live in friendship, to trust one another and not interfere in the affairs of other states, will be adopted sooner or later.

In order to compromise the Soviet disarmament program, the foes of peace are resorting to still another manoeuvre. They allege that the position of the USSR in the question of disarmament lies in that we have advanced the principle "everything or nothing," i.e. that we are proposing general and complete disarmament and would agree to nothing else. That does not correspond to the truth.

Our proposals have it written black on white that if the Western powers are not prepared to accept general and complete disarmament then we think it possible and necessary to agree at least on partial undertakings for disarmament. Among these undertakings are in the opinion of the Soviet Union prohibition of nuclear weapons and, primarily, termination of their tests; creation of a control and inspection zone and reduction in the strength of the foreign troops on the territories of the corresponding countries of Europe, creation of an atomfree zone in Central Europe, liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the member states of NATO and the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, etc.

It stands to reason that the Soviet Government is prepared to consider and discuss amendments and addenda to our proposals, as well as other proposals aimed at settling the disarmament problem. It should, however, be emphasized that the question of disarmament has now acquired special importance and acuteness, and has become pressing. Upon its solution depend the welfare and security of the peoples, the issue of war and peace.

I note with pleasure that the proposals on the question of complete and general disarmament have found approval in the Political Committee of the United Nations thanks to the understanding reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The Soviet-American draft resolution on this question was ardently supported by the representatives of Britain, France and other countries. As you know, it was officially announced that the remaining 80 delegations of the member-countries of UNO have acceded to this joint project as co-authors.

We ardently welcome this unanimous decision. But we must not be carried away by our achievements, because there still are forces who will do everything to prevent the implementation of real measures for general and complete disarmament.

There is the bark beetle which does not bring a tree down at once because it cannot do that it bores under and destroys, the bark depriving the tree of nourishing sap. And the tree dies upright. Similarly some political leaders will try to dig under our proposals for general and complete disarmament.

It is necessary to expose the opponents of disarmament, to deal them a determined rebuff in order that the bright hopes of the peoples should materialise.

Comrades Deputies ! It is now clear that the problems confronting the world can be solved only if action is taken from positions of reason, and not from positions of strength. These problems should be settled by the only reasonable method, the method of negotiation. I should like to lay special emphasis on the great importance of the agreement reached with President Eisenhower of the USA that all pending international problems should be settled not through the use of force, but by peaceful means, by means of negotiation..

As regards the method of negotiation, the convocation of a conference of the heads of government is of paramount importance. We discussed with President D. Eisenhower the question of convening a conference of the heads of government, or a summit conference, as it is called, and I must say, that we agree on this question. It is known that after our talks President Eisenhower stated that the exchange of opinions had removed many of the former objections to the convocation of a summit conference, and Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain, in his turn, has repeatedly made statements in favour of the convocation of the heads of government conference.

The Soviet Government fully shares the opinion about the desirability of the convocation of this conference at the earliest date. We hope that a constructive position in this question will be adopted also by the governments of other states.

Some statesmen in the West are now voicing the opinion that a conference of the heads of government should be held after all the main disputable questions have been preliminarily settled, and maintain that only in that case would a meeting of the heads of government be effective. But that can be said only by those who take no account of the real situation or wish to mislead the people who are not well versed in politics. If the basic questions were settled before the meeting of the heads of government, then it would be a meeting not for the settlement of pressing problems, but for joint angling, but I'm no fisherman and do not go in for fishing, attendance of concerts, etc., i.e., for a pleasant pastime.

It is necessary to look life squarely in the face and to understand realistically what precisely is required of a meeting of the heads

of government. What we need today is a settlement of pressing problems.

It is known that some of them were already examined by representatives of the states at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers and at other international conferences, but no solution was found. More than that. In some cases matters have been carried to an aggravation of the situation.

What is then to be done? We have already said more than once that the most complex international problems can be settled only by the heads of government who are invested with high authority.

Only they can clear away the obstacles and abnormalities in international relations which have accumulated in many years of the cold war. Precisely today are we living in a period when a meeting of the heads of government is necessary. And the sooner this meeting takes place, the better will it be for the cause of peace.

What questions should, in our opinion, be discussed at a conference of the heads of government?

Obviously, the very questions, the unsettled state of which causes the greatest anxiety in the world and interferes with a further relaxation of international tension. The most important place should, of course, belong to the question of disarmament which is of vital concern to the whole world. We believe that in the interest of strengthening the peace, the conference should consider the question of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the consequent normalisation of the situation in West Berlin. Other international questions of common interest may also be considered.

A firm resolve on the part of all the states not to take any measures which could aggravate the situation before the conference, deepen distrust among the conferees, sow the seeds of suspicion, would contribute to the success of a summit conference.

As for the Soviet Union it will do everything to assist in bringing about a further improvement of the situation before the summit conference.

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Comrades Deputies,

The Soviet Government considers it its duty to our people and all mankind to consolidate the relaxation of tension in international

relations that has been attained, to keep firmly to the line of proceeding from relaxation to the complete elimination of international tension, and to turn the relaxation that has been achieved into a stable peace.

For this, it is necessary:

- to pursue an active policy of improving relations between states;
- to work step by step for the practical solution of all outstanding international questions, so as to ensure peaceful life to the peoples;
- not to slacken vigilance with regard to those forces and quarters which strive to reverse the course of international developments to the track of the cold war and aggravation of international relations, untiringly to show to the peoples the untenability, harmfulness and banefulness to mankind of this attitude of bellicose militarist circles.

If all the forces standing for a peaceful settlement of international problems are brought to action, if the leading circles shaping the policy of the Western countries realise that in our days it is impossible to pursue a policy other than the policy of peaceful co-existence, if the peoples say a firm "No" to war, then already in the near future decisive steps will be made in removing the threat of war, and a clear, bright road to peace for all mankind will open.

The Soviet Government, on its part, will do everything possible to carry out this great task.

Allow me to express confidence that the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will approve this foreign policy course of the Soviet Government. (*Stormy, prolonged applause*).

Comrades Deputies,

Further struggle for strengthening peace, for consolidating the foundations of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems will require great efforts on the part of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist camp, and all the peaceloving peoples.

The consistent peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries is meeting with an ever greater support of peaceloving forces the world over. The more united and stronger the great family of socialist countries, the more successfully and quickly will the tasks of strengthening universal peace be carried out.

We can state with a feeling of profound satisfaction that all the countries of the world socialist system are rallied as never before. They work in unity for the solution of the historic task of ridding mankind of wars and ensuring the development of the peoples along the road of peace and social progress.

The Soviet people, jointly with all the peoples of the socialist countries, have recently celebrated the glorious 10th anniversaries of the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic, the 15th anniversary of the establishment of people's government in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. Successful work to build a new life is going on in all the socialist countries.

Allow me, comrades, to convey, on your behalf, on behalf of the Soviet people, warm greetings to our brothers in the People's Democracies and to wish them fresh successes in the upbuilding of socialism! (*Prolonged applause*).

The Soviet Union is confidently advancing forward, successfully carrying out the tasks of the upbuilding of communism set by the 21st Congress of the CPSU. Our Soviet country is on a great upsurge. The plan of the first year of the seven-year plan is being fulfilled and over-fulfilled successfully. The present session of the Supreme Soviet has discussed the national economic plan and the State Budget for 1960, the second year of the seven-year plan.

The first year of the seven-year plan has been marked by new and great successes in the development of industry, agriculture, science and culture, by an improvement in the well-being of the people. As you know, the state plan for nine months has been over-fulfilled by industry by a considerable margin. According to preliminary estimates, the annual plan will be over-fulfilled by industry by approximately 4 per cent, which will account for more than 40,000 million roubles' worth of goods turned out in excess of the plan. Socialist agriculture is also on the up-grade. The forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee will discuss questions of the further development of this important branch of the national economy.

Of all our achievements, the most important, the most remarkable and the most gladdening is the unprecedented growth of the

political and labour activity, creative enthusiasm and communist consciousness of the Soviet people, of their monolithic unity with the Communist Party. In this we see the source of all our successes, a pledge of the complete victory of communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Each day brings us happy news about new victories of the Soviet people. How can we fail to rejoice, to get proud of such feats of Soviet people as the successful launching, in the course of 1959 alone, of three space rockets which roused the admiration of all mankind! The entire Soviet people sing glory to the men of labour and science who blazed the trail to outer space. (*Stormy applause.*)

These days our remarkable scientists have made one more wonderful present to their country. They courted the Moon very well, and she indulged them with her favours, allowed them to photograph the side which she had always kept hidden from the eyes of people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We take a justified pride in our scientists who persuaded the Moon to cast off the veil, this survival of the past. (*Laughter, applause*) Under the influence of the development of Soviet science and culture the Moon discarded the veil, began to keep step with our times and revealed her face to Soviet scientists, to Soviet people, and they gave to the whole world an opportunity of delving into the hidden secrets of this celestial beauty—with her permission, of course. We are not in the habit of prying into forbidden things. (*Laughter, applause.*)

Allow me, on behalf of the Soviet government, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet and on behalf of the Central Committee of our Communist Party, to congratulate our hero scientists warmly from this high rostrum on this glorious scientific achievement. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Permit me also to wish them new successes, discoveries and equally brilliant achievements to the glory of our great country of victorious communism, in the name of the triumph of peace on earth. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear Comrades, the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has assembled on the eve of the 42nd anniversary of the Great Octo-

ber Socialist Revolution. Under the glorious banner of the October Revolution the Soviet people are marching firmly along the road indicated by the great Lenin, towards the complete victory of communism ! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise*).

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26 Club Road, Byculla
Bombay—8

